

the election. It is said that these ads have “undermined the intent” of the 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act which was supposed to regulate campaign-related expenditures. I will tell my colleagues something. I am not too concerned about what the Democrats who controlled this Congress in 1974 intended when they wrote the Federal Election Campaign Act. I am concerned about what the founders of this country intended when they wrote the Bill of Rights in 1791.

I want my colleagues to consider something. Imagine if King of England had written to James Madison and said, “James, this whole revolution thing has been a big misunderstanding. I have seen a draft of your proposed Bill of Rights and I think we can resolve our differences. I do not have any problem with freedom of speech, and I am willing to let you criticize me and my policies any way you want. All I ask is that you report to me the names of all people who share your opinions. Also, while I am willing to let you say anything you want about me, I would ask that you not disseminate your criticism too widely. One hundred critical pamphlets is enough; 1,000 is just piling on. If you have to send 1,000 I just ask that you raise the money to finance the printing costs in small chunks from a broad group of donors. I know this may be inconvenient and could hinder your ability to get your message out, but I really do not think it is an unreasonable request. Please, let us be reasonable and work together on this issue.”

We all know what Madison’s reaction would have been: No thank you, Your Highness.

That is why the first amendment to our Constitution begins, “Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech.” The freedom of our citizens to criticize their elected leaders makes us the greatest democracy in the world, and that is what makes us different from dictators. Yet, now today in the name of “reform,” we are asked to turn our back on that great legacy.

Well, I am not going to do it. Like every Member of this body, I took an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States of America. I do not intend to break the oath to satisfy the editorial board of the New York Times, and neither should you. Support Ney-Wynn.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of the time to close.

Mr. Chairman, this has been a long day, a long night, and an early morning. I think the quality of debate, for the most part, has been very good. I think there has been respect on not only both sides of the aisle, but there has been a bipartisanship of action. On behalf, I think, of all of us, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS). Whether we agree or disagree with either one of them, they have fought a

long and good fight. They have kept the faith with their principles and their premises, and I think that they have acted in the highest traditions of legislators seeking to put forward policies to make their country better. I, on behalf of all of us, want to thank both the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) for their work.

We now end this debate. As I said at the beginning, if we adopt this amendment, we essentially start over. At least eight times we have made a determination not to do this. This is the ninth time. Let us once again say that we are prepared to move. We are prepared to act. We are prepared to take a step in reforming campaign finance reform. We are prepared to take a step to raise the confidence of Americans that their representatives, their government, their policies that are adopted by all of us are theirs.

This is an historic night. Rarely do we have the opportunity to vote on such significant historical change. I ask my colleagues to vote “no” on Ney-Wynn and to vote “yes” for final passage of Shays-Meehan.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. NEY).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

#### RECORDED VOTE

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 181, noes 248, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 33]

#### AYES—181

Aderholt	Culberson	Hilleary
Akin	Cunningham	Hobson
Armey	Davis, Jo Ann	Hoekstra
Bachus	Davis, Tom	Hulshof
Baker	DeLay	Hunter
Ballenger	DeMint	Hyde
Barcia	Diaz-Balart	Isakson
Bartlett	Doolittle	Issa
Barton	Dreier	Istook
Biggert	Duncan	Jenkins
Bilirakis	Dunn	John
Blunt	Ehlers	Johnson, Sam
Boehner	Ehrlich	Jones (NC)
Bonilla	English	Keller
Bono	Everett	Kelly
Boozman	Ferguson	Kennedy (MN)
Boucher	Flake	Kerns
Brown (SC)	Fletcher	King (NY)
Bryant	Forbes	Kingston
Burr	Fossella	Knollenberg
Burton	Frost	Kolbe
Buyer	Gekas	Latham
Callahan	Gibbons	LaTourette
Calvert	Gillmor	Lewis (CA)
Camp	Goode	Lewis (KY)
Cannon	Goodlatte	Linder
Cantor	Goss	Lipinski
Capito	Granger	Lucas (OK)
Chabot	Graves	Manzullo
Chambliss	Gutknecht	McCrery
Coble	Hall (TX)	McInnis
Collins	Hansen	McKeon
Combest	Hastert	Mica
Cooksey	Hastings (WA)	Miller, Dan
Cox	Hayes	Miller, Gary
Crane	Hayworth	Miller, Jeff
Crenshaw	Herger	Moran (KS)

Myrick  
Nethercutt  
Ney  
Northup  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Otter  
Oxley  
Paul  
Pence  
Peterson (PA)  
Pickering  
Pitts  
Pombo  
Portman  
Pryce (OH)  
Putnam  
Radanovich  
Regula  
Rehberg  
Reynolds  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher

Ros-Lehtinen  
Royce  
Ryan (WI)  
Ryun (KS)  
Schaffer  
Schrock  
Sensenbrenner  
Sessions  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Sherwood  
Shimkus  
Shows  
Shuster  
Simpson  
Skeen  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Souder  
Stearns  
Stump  
Sununu  
Sweeney  
Tancredo

#### NOES—248

Abercrombie	Ganske	McCarthy (NY)
Ackerman	Gephardt	McCollum
Allen	Gilchrest	McDermott
Andrews	Gilman	McGovern
Baca	Gonzalez	McHugh
Baird	Gordon	McIntyre
Baldacci	Graham	McKinney
Baldwin	Green (TX)	McNulty
Barr	Green (WI)	Meehan
Barrett	Greenwood	Meek (FL)
Bass	Grucci	Meeks (NY)
Becerra	Gutierrez	Menendez
Bentsen	Hall (OH)	Millender-
Bereuter	Harman	McDonald
Berkley	Hart	Miller, George
Berman	Hastings (FL)	Mink
Berry	Hill	Mollohan
Bishop	Hilliard	Moore
Blagojevich	Hinchey	Moran (VA)
Blumenauer	Hinojosa	Morella
Boehlert	Hoefel	Murtha
Bonior	Holden	Nadler
Borski	Holt	Napolitano
Boswell	Honda	Neal
Boyd	Hooley	Oberstar
Brady (PA)	Horn	Obey
Brown (FL)	Hostettler	Oliver
Brown (OH)	Houghton	Ortiz
Capps	Hoyer	Osborne
Capuano	Inslee	Ose
Cardin	Israel	Owens
Carson (IN)	Jackson (IL)	Pallone
Carson (OK)	Jackson-Lee	Pascarell
Castle	(TX)	Pastor
Clay	Jefferson	Payne
Clayton	Johnson (CT)	Pelosi
Clement	Johnson (IL)	Peterson (MN)
Clyburn	Johnson, E. B.	Petri
Condit	Jones (OH)	Phelps
Conyers	Kanjorski	Platts
Costello	Kaptur	Pomeroy
Coyne	Kennedy (RI)	Price (NC)
Cramer	Kildee	Quinn
Crowley	Kilpatrick	Rahall
Cummins	Kind (WI)	Ramstad
Davis (CA)	Kirk	Rangel
Davis (FL)	Kleczka	Reyes
Davis (IL)	Kucinich	Rivers
Deal	LaFalce	Rodriguez
DeFazio	LaHood	Roemer
DeGette	Lampson	Ross
Delahunt	Langevin	Rothman
DeLauro	Lantos	Roybal-Allard
Deutsch	Largent	Rush
Dicks	Larsen (WA)	Sabo
Dingell	Larson (CT)	Sanchez
Doggett	Leach	Sanders
Dooley	Lee	Sandlin
Doyle	Levin	Sawyer
Edwards	Lewis (GA)	Saxton
Emerson	LoBiondo	Schakowsky
Engel	Lofgren	Schiff
Eshoo	Lowe	Scott
Etheridge	Lucas (KY)	Serrano
Evans	Luther	Shays
Farr	Lynch	Sherman
Fattah	Maloney (CT)	Simmons
Filner	Maloney (NY)	Skelton
Foley	Markey	Slaughter
Ford	Mascara	Smith (TX)
Frank	Matheson	Smith (WA)
Frelinghuysen	Matsui	Snyder
Gallegly	McCarthy (MO)	Solis